FREE SOCIETY

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An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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IDLE CHARON.

The shores of Styx are lone for evermore,
And not one shadowy form upon the steep
Looms through the dusk, far as the eye can sweep,
To call the ferry over as of yore;
But tintless rushes all about the shore
Have hemmed the old boat in, where, locked in sleep,
Hoar-bearded Charon lies; while pale weeds creep
With tightening grasp all round the unused oar.

For in the world of Life strange rumors run
That now the soul departs not with the breath,
But that the Body and the Soul are one;
And in the loved one's mouth, now, after death,
The widow puts no obol, nor the son,
To pay the ferry in the world beneath.

—Eugene Lee-Hamilton.

THE STATE IN FACT.

There is no evidence anywhere that the affairs of men move along more smoothly or successfully because of the interference of the State in all their doings. There is no evidence that ordinary men are not as well able to conduct their own business for themselves as other ordinary men are for them. It is well to bear in mind that the State interposes not because it can do things better, but because such interference is assumed to be its privilege. It is customary, and what is customary, it is claimed, ought not to be changed. Previous custom is all the ground that the State has to stand on in all this business. But it is well known that even custom ought to be changed after a time.

The main argument which the State puts forward to justify its interference in the affairs of individuals, is found in the word "protection." It assumes that men are in need of protection, and it affects the part of the big boy who keeps off the bears and robbers and prevents thoughtless children from hurting each other. There was a time, a long time since, when this argument may have had some force and a better application than it has now. There was a time when war was the rule and peace the exception. Then everybody had to keep himself on a war footing, and it often happened that in order to be secure against attack, a man was compelled to ally himself with a stronger party. But it must not be forgotten that in all cases where a man goes to another man for protection or assistance, he puts himself, to a greater or less extent, in the power of his ally, and it very often happens that he loses his liberty by the experiment. The doves in the fable found themselves in a much worse plight by calling in the aid of the hawk. The English lost their liberty by appealing to the Saxons, their neighbors. How many times has it happened in the business affairs of this world that a man mortgages his property to one whom he believes to be his friend, in order to escape some danger, and finally loses it all and becomes the slave of his protector! And so it is in the history of the State. Under pretense of doing this and that thing for the protection and comfort of the citizen, the State comes at last to have the citizen absolutely in its power. As times and practices are now, there is little occasion to call for assistance from any outside sources. The occupations of all civilized people are rather those of peace than war. A man who attends to his own affairs and respects the rights of others need have no apprehension of attack from some stronger party.

And few people are aware how little the State really does for the protection or security of citizens. Indeed, the State does not guarantee that it will keep them from injury, but that it will punish the offender if it succeeds in apprehending him. In too many cases this *if* is fatal, and even when the culprit is caught and punished, that fact can do little of itself toward alleviating the sufferings of the victim. Everybody understands that he must look out for his own safety and protect himself, if he is protected at all. If he waited for the State to do this work for him, he would find himself in a very sorry plight in nine cases out of ten. Generally, where the State is needed, it is rarely found, and even in the few cases where it does appear, it is too slow in getting around. A man might rob and kill another in a hundred cases, and every time escape before the State or its officers would learn of any disturbance.

It is a mistake to imagine that the business of governing is so intricate and peculiar that it must necessarily be accorded to a certain privileged and experienced class. Government, or control of a man's conduct, is something that every man should learn for himself. It is one of the things that cannot be well done by proxy. It is clear that the State has no definite notions as to what a man may properly do for himself and what the State should necessarily do for him. There has never been even to this day any perceptible line drawn in this matter. In a large portion of the common affairs of life, all men are allowed to follow the dictates of their own judgment. In other words, they are allowed to shift for themselves. Indeed, the State tacitly admits that as a protector of individuals it is more or less a failure, for it concedes to men the right of self-defense, and in many cases it allows them to fight their way out in any way they deem best. Is it not clear that if a man is capable of managing a part of his affairs, he is probably able to manage the balance, and that if he can defend himself in one case, he doubtless could manage to defend himself in another? How many hundreds, and even thousands of instances are there where men are permitted to conduct their affairs as if they were sovereigns, without the least intercession from either the law or the State! But if a man may be a sovereign in many things, why not in all things, at least in all those things in which his personal interests alone are concerned?

Why does the State continually meddle in the affairs of men? No man needs government. He may need instruction, advice, or even caution, but governing never does him any good. And yet the State constantly acts upon the theory that every man not an officer of the State must be *non compos*, and as such he needs guidance and control. The poor, helpless individual is kept perpetually on the rack of uncertainty. Truly, he may say that he does not know what a day will bring forth. He may know what the State will demand of him today, but he could not possibly tell what the State might determine to call for tomorrow. A man may be doing a prosperous business today, and by some new step taken by the State, or some new law passed by the legislature, he may find himself a bankrupt tomorrow. It is not certainty, but uncertainty that torments the men who live under the iron rule of the State. A man is in a lamentable condition when every movement that he makes is subject to the arbitrary will of a despot. The citizen begs for nothing but to be let alone, but alas! that would be impossible. A man might fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, and even there he would find himself the subject of some government.

It must not be forgotten that the ways and tendencies of the State and its agents are strictly those of the robber and extortionist. Government officers are parasites; they fasten upon the people and suck the blood from their veins. That is the chief duty which they are called upon to perform. No man who represents the government, from the king down, is a producer. He is a vampire who lives by what he extracts from other creatures. The State gets what it can by deception or persuasion first, and the balance it secures by compulsion afterward. The State is the stronger party, and when its screws come to be applied to a victim, he has no alternative but to yield, as he uniformly does. When the unarmed traveler is met by the robber, and it is a question whether he had better sacrifice his life or lose his purse, he is usually sensible enough to let the purse go and preserve his life. But unlike the ordinary robber, the State does not take all it can find. It reserves the victim for future use. It knows better than to kill the bird that lays the golden egg. The citizen is permitted to live and go on accumulating more property, and by and by the State comes along quietly and makes another reprisal. That is just how it has been done, in every civilized land where such a thing as government exists.

It is often claimed that men owe submission to government because there is an implied contract on their part to obey all laws and all officers of the law. But there is really no foundation for such a claim as that. A man comes into the world and becomes a subject of a certain State without his will. He remains where he is, simply because he has no other place whither he may go. He obeys because he must; his submission in all cases is a matter of necessity from which he cannot escape. I venture to say that no government was ever formed by contract or agreement. A constitution bears the semblance of a contract, but it is always the work of a few men, generally without any legal and binding authority, and it certainly could not obligate future generations who had no part in framing the constitution. The theory that the subjects of a State are bound by some implied contract which they are supposed to have made with the government, is now generally abandoned.

In concluding this article, I would remark that nations have dealings with each other, and they get along year after year in a very neighborly way, without laws, without a written constitution, without legislatures and without either governors or kings. They cannot be bound by laws, for they are all sovereigns, and smaller States and the larger ones are alike supreme. No one assumes or presumes to exercise the slighest authority over the other, and still we see that they get along well together for a long series of years. They have long since learned both the necessity and propriety of doing right by each other. Whenever any question arises, and the two parties differ in their opinions, as parties with opposing interests naturally will, they leave the question to arbitrators, and abide by their decision when it is rendered. Now, why may not men as neighbors and friends do precisely the same thing? Why should they be subject to laws which they themselves never made? Why should they be treated as subjects, as slaves? Why are not they sovereigns, why is not every man a sovereign, owing allegiance or submission to no man under heaven?—From "Life Without a Master," by J. Wilson, Newark, N. Y.

ERRATA: In No. 246 of Free Society, third page, first column, 36th line, is to be read: "on the outside, ringing," etc., and in the 54th line read "which *constitutes* the characteristics," etc.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

QUOTATIONS.

It has been demonstrated that, under a proper combination of labor, 20 to 24 months of one man's work would be sufficient to secure for ever, for a family of five, an apartment or a house provided with all the comforts which modern hygiene or taste could require.

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As to the workers, who ought to be the real managers of industries, they will find it healthy NOT to perform the same monotonous work all the year round, and will abandon the factory for the summer, if they do not find the means of keeping it running by relieving each other in groups.

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There is no reason why the factory, with its motive force and machinery, should not be operated for the benefit of the community. Under the capitalist system the factory is the curse of the village, as it comes to overwork children and to make paupers out of its inhabitants.

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A community, organized on the principle of all being workers, would be rich enough to conclude that every man and woman, after having reached a certain age—say forty—ought to be relieved from the moral obligation of taking part in the performance of the necessary manual work, so as to be able entirely to devote himself or herself to whatever he or she chooses in the domain of art, science, etc.

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Men of science invent no more, or very little. Is it not striking that the steam engine, even in its leading principles, the railway engine, the steamboat, the telephone, the phonograph, the weaving machine, the lace machine, the lighthouse, the macadamized road, photography in black and in colors, and thousands of less important things, have not been invented by professional men of science, although none of them would have refused to associate his name with the above mentioned inventions?

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Instead of technical education, which will continue the present division of society into brain workers and manual workers, we propose to give such an education that, on leaving shool at the age of 18 or 20, each boy and each girl should be endowed with a thorough knowledge of science—such a knowledge as might enable them to be useful workers in science—and, at the same time, to give them a general knowledge of what constitutes the basis of technical training, and such a skill in some special trade as would enable each of them to take his or her place in the grand world of the manual production of wealth.—Peter Kropotkin.

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THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN RUMANIA.

The comrades will doubtless be interested in the radical movement, or rather the Socialistic movement, which has been of large proportions until recently.

Before the elections of 1898 for Parliament, the Liberal party being in power and desiring to prevent their defeat by the conservatives made an alliance with the Socialist "leaders" by which the Socialist voters were to cast their votes for the candidates of the Liberals. For this service some of the prominent Socialists were to receive a few offices. Accordingly Lumea Nova, the Socialist daily, was suspended, ostensibly for want of funds, but in reality to make the alliance more complete. Some of the clear-headed ones recognized this treachery, but the rank and file saw it only too late.

For years the movement had been carefully nurtured and at last results they had 180 cities and villages organized, composed of farmers and the workingmen. The propaganda was in no sense radical or revolutionary. All agitation was on political lines, such as universal suffrage, direct taxation, a legal eight-hour work day, etc. Of a complete change in our social and economic conditions none of the agitators ever said a word. Radical utterances were not popular, and the leaders were diligent in telling the people to respect the law, authority and its representatives. In a word, the Socialists were a degenerating element in their agitation for human liberty.

When you consider that originally the Socialist party was composed of a revolutionary, Anarchistic element, full of life and enthusiasm, and that Ton Nadejde, the leader of the Social Democratic party (as it is here called since its advent as a political party) who in their official organ Lumea Nova (The New Time) wrote the most abusive articles against the Anarchists, himself being one of the original Anarchists with Kropotkin and Reclus twenty years ago, and also having been the editor of some of the most revolutionary publications, then only can the comrades get an idea of the progressive (?) spirit that animated him.

Some time in the future I expect to give the readers of Free Society a historical review of the movement here, but at present desire to tell what the suicidal results of that unholy alliance were.

The returns showed that the Liberals with the aid of the Socialists had retained control of the government. But soon the love feast was to end. The leaders of the now demoralized Socialist party demanded their reward for the valuable service rendered in the campaign. In order to prevent a revival of their party the Liberals started in to literally root them out. First they thought as a future aid they were useless and by open antagonism to them, the Liberals hoped to please the conservatives, so they secured the leader Ton Nadejde and a few agents of the police who masqueraded as Socialist agitators to inflame the farmers against the government, which had its plan all ready to put in operation. The began by prohibiting all Socialist meetings in our "free country." This was unprecedented as our constitution provides especially for free press and free speech and this right shall in no case be abrogated. The order was universally condemned; all the newspapers, with the exception of the government organs, protested against such despotic measures; even the bourgeois smiled when they heard the Socialist leaders ordering their followers to be "quiet and orderly."

In the meantime there was a small uprising of farmers; the agitators were arrested by former friends and allies who had contrived to stay in power by their aid.

The material and moral support of the Social Democrats comes from the Jews, who have no suffrage—not even the native born—all are considered in the light of foreigners. In order to keep *them* in check they were threatened with arrest and expulsion. As an example ten or fifteen were expelled. The remainder were thus intimidated and disheartened. Ton Nadejde, deprived of his mission, after many years of activity, retired to private life. His retirement at such a critical moment was universally commented upon and condemned. Here was the hard and patient labor of many sincere people, the fruit of a persistent activity, destroyed; destroyed through the treachery of a few leaders. This should be a lesson to the Socialists of the world how little confidence can be placed in leadership. Not a vestige remained of the party. The Jews became Zionists and this is explainable, because nowhere in the world do Jews suffer through limitations of their rights as here, not even in Russia. The gentiles mostly returned to the government party. A few remained who were bitter against politics.

There remains in the city of Bucharest a Socialist Club, but only the shadow of its former significance, led by a few students and working men. Recently an anti-Semite made an attempt to change the name of the club and make a purely political organization of it by leaving all theories aside. Whether they accept his proposition or not, the act will have no public significance.

Their paper appears now weekly in a reduced size and is not read. In the provinces it is no better with them. In short, the Socialists have cleared the way for Anarchist-Communists and Individualists. More about that next time.

J. HORVITZ.

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Send 10 cents for "The Temperance Folly," with terms to agents. Lois Waisbrooker, 1501½ Market, S. F.

AN OPEN LETTER FROM A NEW WORKER.

The different notices and criticisms, favorable and eulogistic of my literary effusions, "The Car Conuctor's Dream" and "An Open Letter to W. J. Bryan," reviewed in Free Society, have opened the way for me to say a word in my own behalf. First I wish to thank my critics for kindly encouragement. If I were to allow monetary considerations to influence me, I would feel scared at seeing my name and work praised by such radical thinkers as S. D. and Lois Waisbrooker, for they are not going to help me make a million dollars on a popular "Christmas Story." But, if I have to say it myself, I have paid quite a big price in the open market of experience for what I have of "truth," and I expect—apart from all sordid considerations of profit and self-interest—to continue in the same way to "buy the truth and sell it not." Of course, this is still selfishness. I am only following the line of least resistance; but I undertake to criticise almost all the customs and institutions of "glorious christian civilization," all those practices of superstition so congenial to the multitude, and particularly the cunning combination of fraud and force in Church and State, the Siamese twins of superstition. The world has far too long slumbered. If Icannot arouse this lethargic age, I will at least have the courage to try, by tongue and pen—who knows?! perhaps the ice age of conservatism and sectarianism may yet thaw before the beneficient sunshine of progress. "It's coming, Oh it's coming."

Of course, many when they are at first awakened will still regret the loss of their pleasing vision. Use, with them, has become second nature. They fear to "progress" lest if they should make a move, the first step would be over a precipice, and so they think it better to "abide the ills they have than fly to others that they know not of." But I cannot endure to think of the illustrious martyrs and heroes who, from Socrates to the poverty-stricken radicals of San Francisco, have agonized, bled and died for the cause of truth and right as they have seen it, and for justice and human liberty—and I? Who am I? What have I done? I will speak out, I will be heard, though all earth's systems crack. I'll not abate a single word, nor take a letter back. I am ashamed to think of the great debt I owe to those who suffered that I might enjoy—a debt which is also a heritage; ashamed to think that I have done so little to discharge that debt, and to pay it in the only way in which it can be paid, namely, by endeavoring to make things around me better for myself, and for those who follow. A great many stumps have to be grubbed out before the soil will be prepared to receive the good seed—stumps called authority, supernaturalism, superstition, revelation, dreams, vagaries, prodigies, saviors, holy ghosts, and ghosts not so holy; then we will get from the bosom of our common mother earth a springing, blooming, abundant, beautiful seed and breed of men and women, a natural humanity through which shall be expressed liberty, equality, fraternity, solidarity. If this is "Anarchy"!! then I am an "Anarchist"!!! I have no "*bombs*." My sword is the plowshare of truth. The weapons of my warfare are not brute force. I never saw a gatling gun, though I have been told by my christian missionary friend that the "heathen" have things of that kind in use every day,—I forgot now whether he said in South Afrcia or the Philippine Islands!

My next pamphlet, which will be out in a couple of weeks, will be entitled "Cicero San Francisco." Just about as hot as they make them; right on to its job, attacking and exposing error, vindicating and advocating truth.

WALLACE E. NEVILL.

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COMRADE MOST IN SAN JOSE.

Herr John Most, the Communist Anarchist, who only a few short years ago startled the world in his denunciation of court and jury that sentenced to death the Chicago Anarchists, delivered a lecture at Hale's Hall last night, entitled "The Anarchist and What He Wants."

It is questionable whether the speaker would have been permitted to deliver such a lecture as was made last night in the city of Chicago, but here, although his audience was small, he was received with sympathy. The lecture was interesting as it is seldom that a speaker dares to give utterance to expressions such as were made by Herr Most. It can at least be said that he is courageous.

The Elite Orchestra had scarcely stopped playing when the speaker, a gray haired man of fifty-two arose, and for an hour held his audience spellbound with an address vigorous, pointed and at times eloquent. He

said: "We call ourselves 'Communist Anarchists' because we are struggling to bring about a condition of perfect freedom. A freedom that recognizes no upper and no lower class, and no model by which people must be guided; it is identical with that conception of exemption from martyrdom and servitude we call Anarchy. To call ourselves Communist Anarchists is not fitting at this stage of the world's action, and inasmuch as all the earlier Communist attempts to establish a complicated industrial state have come to grief it has been necessary for us to clearly formulate our altogether different ideas of Socialism, most modern and most progressive.

"We proclaim and want social revolution—not because we take any pleasure in savage strifes and shedding of blood, but because it is clearer and clearer to us with every day, that on the one hand the conditions under which mankind today finds itself are becoming more and more unbearable, and because on the other hand every attempt to alter or mitigate those conditions meets with a continually harsher and more cruel resistance on the part of the ruling classes.

"It is therefore certain that the people will at last find conditions so unendurable that it will come to a contest between them and the propertied minority, and that what unhappily cannot be obtained peaceably will have to be fought for sword in hand, viz., the destruction of all those institutions that stand in the way of the development of freedom and equality, of culture and happiness, and the establishment of those just conditions that are going to be created by Communism and Anarchy. What we want, therefore, and what we will support is every popular movement designed to accelerate this struggle and to bring it to the speediest possible conclusion? We support the working man in all his present struggles with the possessing class and we repudiate all palliatives and blinds, such as religion and politics.

"What we want and what we are preparing for is the social revolution that is to come and is to secure for the laboring man the fruits of this struggle.

"A Churchlike organization such as other working men's parties have the Anarchists do not possess. They regard all centralization, with its officials, its taxes and its other Statelike institutions, as a thing to be repudiated, since it cripples the individual, destroys his independence of thought and introduces everywhere corruption. We regard the free grouping of individuals and the free federation of groups as sufficient ties for uniting our strength in the struggle for the ends we have in common.

"'Join us,' we say to the toilers. 'Awake and recognize the yoke beneath which you groan, and strive to break it. Under our banner, under the red flag of Communism and Anarchy, the emblem of the social revolution, is your proper battle ground. Flock to it in order that you may have a clear conception of how you must act to overthrow the existing disorder and to place in its stead a society of freedom and equality, for this is the task with which you are charged. Workingmen of all countries, emancipate yourselves.'

"Our emancipation can only come through a war against private property, against the State and against the Church. A war having for its object their utter annihilation."

The speaker closed by saying: "So long as private property prevails there will be rich and poor, and the latter will be dependent on the former. Such a condition of things leads, on the one hand, to a monstrous accumulation of wealth, to insufferable pride, to insane avarice, ambition and cruelty; on the other hand, to an impoverishment that grows constantly more and more shocking, and is accompanied by all the characteristics of physical and intellectual decay."—San Jose Daily Record.

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THE "ARENA" WRITERS CRITICISED.

Without a solitary exception the articles in the January Arena are written by advanced children, with the old superstitions of Church and State governing every movement of their brains; they are worshippers of that God who, as their own prophets, priests and kings admitted, was unknowable, and the too well known Mrs. Grundy. Not one of them exposes the cause of the evils on which they prostitute their powers with profuse verbiage.

Mrs. Jefferson Davis says, "When the revolt in the Philippines is suppressed. ...I see only one solution to the problem: give the Filipinos the right to govern themselves under certain restrictions."

There has been no revolt, Mrs. Davis, and neither you nor the United States can give them the right to govern themselves; they possess the inherent right to do that!—just as you and I do, madam; but you evidently like to be governed and help govern others—two points that Anarchists object to as the causes of war and oppression of all kinds.

Caroline Pemberton makes the following statements: "The newspapers record 1,285 cases of lynching in the United States from 1891 to 1897 inclusive.....In every Southern State, from Maryland to Texas, marriage between the races (black and white) is forbidden by law. ....About five years ago when Senator Tillman was governor of South Carolina, he called a convention to have the Constitution amended. It was then decided that it was criminal for a white man to marry a colored woman having more than one-eighth of negro blood. This was voted for by all except two or three colored men in the convention. A negro named Smalls then arose and offered a resolution to the effect that it should be criminal and punishable for white men *to live in an unmarried state* with colored women. This was voted down by the same majority that had voted for the other resolution! The acts of that convention have since become by vote of the people the law of the State."

Caroline H. Pemberton does not know that the "barbarism of civilization" is government—the money power; the government for the protection of property institutes marriage, prostitution and their consequent crimes, and the present state of the wage slave is far more barbarous than that of the chattel slave. Government takes good care that there shall not be a free currency wherewith free exchange may be made and thus ensure equal opportunities to all, thus doing away with the respectability of five per cent or the barbarism of fifty or one hundred per cent as sometimes extorted.

Ida Wells-Barnett writes: "Our country's national crime is lynching.....The red Indian of the Western plains tied his prisoner to the stake, tortured him, and danced in fiendish glee while his victim writhed in the flames. His savage, untutored mind suggested no better way than that of wreaking vengeance upon those who had wronged him. These people knew nothing about Christianity and did not profess to follow its teachings; but such primary laws as they had they lived up to. No nation, savage or civilized, save the United States of America, has confessed its inability to protect its women save by hanging, shooting, and burning alleged offenders."

Our country's national crime is that of crushing the happiness and life out of those who produce all the wealth of this rich country. This is done by Christians (excuse the term, but it comes so natural to cover up anything extra vile) to those who have wronged no one, have done nothing but produce, produce, produce and starved, lived in hovels and wore patched rags. Do not fret over the few lynchings, but turn your attention to the slow, painful degrading deaths of millions of the toilers.

Charles M. Blatchford Jr., M. D., thinks that "the expansion of human intelligence at the Renaissance caused the feudal system to be outgrown. The tyranny of Church and State became intolerable, and the people chafed under a government that oppressed but did not govern.....In theory an educated electorate is the solution of many problems and the cure of many political disorders..... It is time to try some other plan, and the most feasible one is that of training in the trades."

The doctor should know that there is no cure for political disorders, also that all governments' chief work is oppression, and that Church and State will always be, as they always have been, tyrannical and intolerable.

Wm. J. Roe says: "Those provisions of the law that authorize arrest in civil actions upon a variety of pretexts, some extremely frivolous and—it would almost seem—intentionally vexatious, should at the earliest hour be set aside. Commitments for contempt should be only for an overt act in the presence of the court of such a nature as to interfere with the *majesty* of the law."

The above is an extract from an article occupying nine pages, but anyone who knows that judges and juries are bought at almost any price, varying from that of police judge to that of the supreme court, and then using such a term as "the majesty of the law" is not worthy of a moment's consideration.

Charles Grant Miller states: "Millions of men are working at starvation wages and millions more are starving out of employment: discontented labor organizes all over the land, and we have already seen raised here and there, the hideous red hand of Anarchy, which to our disordered minds is a virtue in Europe, but a sin with us."

This is sufficient of Miller's ten pages to prove, not only that his mind is badly "disordered," but extremely ignorant. Read up man, and you will learn that not only is Anarchy, not hideous, nor red-handed, but is bitterly opposed to government's chief business—war and murder—and its motto is, "Mind your own business."

Everett Leftwich remarks: "The development of labor-saving and rapid-operating machinery has rendered overproduction of everything, even agricultural products, possible and even frequent."

"Overproduction" and millions in want of all that has been produced—the depth of absurdity is reached.

Herbert N. Casson says: "Our task is not to break up the trusts, which would be unwise and reactionary; not to perpetuate them, which would be impossible; but to work for a speedy and peaceful transition from private to collective ownership."

A few months back Casson ventilated his views in the daily press in the following illogical manner: "The average American citizen discovers to his horror that a trust can no more be demolished by legislation than a Cunarder by a volley of goose feathers; he hears the Standard Oil trust tell the Ohio legislature to shut up; to mind its own buiness; and finds to his amazement that the legislature is very likely to obey.....As soon as any monopoly becomes despotic and dangerous to the public welfare, let a board of impartial appraisers examine the books and set a fair purchase price upon it which it will be obliged to accept."

"A trust can no more be demolished," etc., and "be obliged to accept," etc.,—how intense! Casson is now on the editorial staff of the New York Journal and Socialists are much elated thereat. Has he so soon forgotten the attempt made to examine the Standard Oil company's books? Were they not burnt and otherwise destroyed rather than produce them according to the orders of the court? This trust is the finest example possible to illustrate their power. Ten years ago the courts ordered this company to liquidate; its stock was then below $150, now it is $490, the market value of the concern is $500,000,000. On May 4, 1899, they declared a dividend of $12,000,000 in direct and open opposition to law.

Every man, be he epitor or penny-liner, Socialist or millionaire, who voices such trash is unworthy to serve as a guide or leader of the people.

Rudolf Wald uses nine pages to show "co-operative benefits through taxation," but he fails to state the uncooked fact that Labor—the poor man—pays all taxes, much to the benefit of the rich; and he need not have taxed his massive brain to invent a new trick for wholesale robbery. The rich—those who corner the medium of exchange—are the government, and they make all the laws, and can and do look out for themselves. All governments rob and murder—it is their chief occupation.

George H. Shibley gives some truth: "In each university and college in the United States, a board of directors—composed principally of business men, lawyers, and ministers—is by law clothed with absolute power as to the employing and the dismissal of professors of the science of wealth and of government....It is admitted that the professors of the science of wealth deliberately deceive the people as to certain truths concerning wealth....Thus the few govern the many and take from them their rightful belongings....As to wealth and government the people have been falsely educated in the universities, and in this way the few, who have been rich and powerful, have kept most of their special privileges after the adoption of majority rule—self government. They have governed the many through *controlling their ideas*."

Shibley proves to demonstration the thorough rottenness of government, but does not propose the only remedy open to the people, who are fooled and robbed, viz., to cut down the rotten thing, for it cannot be cured.

Labor always has been, is, and must be the only natural standard of value, or price level, as he bureaucratically terms it.

KINGHORN-JONES.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

For Philadelphia.

Russian Evening Party, with the co-operation of Mr. M. E. Medvedeff as chief soloist, will be given for the benefit of Free Society on Friday, Jan. 26, 1900, at 8 p. m., at Pennsylvania Hall, 8th & Christian Sts. Dancing until 3 a. m. Tickets 25 cents.

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The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

WANTS US TO STAY IN HELL.

Editor of Free Society,—I receeived a number of papers today with several copies of your journal. In answer I must say that I spent some four years in doing all I could to save our Union of States. I cannot say or do anything to tear down the best republic in the world. I feel sorry to think that we have men and women in these United States that have no more respect for themselves than to uphold or in any way sustain any argument that will tend to destroy our republican institutions.

We wish to encourage good men and women to come to the United States to live, but outlaws and Anarchists had better stay in their own native hell.

Burton, Wash. CICERO NEWELL.

REPLY.

All right, sir, I will take your advice and stay in my "own native hell," right here in America, and do all I possibly can to "tear down the best republic in the world" so as to make a paradise out of hell. Even my children are doing their best to "sustain any argument that tends to destroy our republican institutions" by which they are enslaved morally and physically.

By the way, has it ever occured to you that Jesus, Galileo, Bruno, the colonists that resisted English rule and established "the best republic in the world," Wendell Phillips, Garrison, John Brown and all the other Abolitionists, were once considered "outlaws"? Were you not one of those outlaws who helped to tear down one of our grand republican intitutions—chattel slavery? Do you know that George Washington—who has been sanctified—would have been hung as an "outlaw" if England had defeated the colonists? Did it ever dawn upon your republican brain that history records as "good men and women" those who tore down prevailing institutions in order to make room for new and better ones, and looks upon those that persecuted and executed the "outlaws" as ignorant bigots or tyrants? In short, "Revolutionists after they become successful are considered patriots," or as Burke said of the French Revolution: "Kings will be tyrants from policy, when subjects are rebels from principle."

And thus it ever will be, my friend, as long as government and authority exist: those that tear down tyrannical institutions make room for improvement, otherwise there would be no advancement, no progress in this world, and so I am glad to be an outlaw—an Anarchist—who is on the way to a better world; and I am sure that the Cicero of Washington will joyfully travel on the road to freedom after it has been properly paved with the blood of the "outlaws and Anarchists."

AN AMERICAN IN HELL.

WANTS ORGANIZATION.

I think the "Man in the Tower" is correct when he says, "What Anarchists need is an organization and a platform." This has been my idea for a long time. I suggest that Free Society publish the platform adopted by the I. W. P. A. in 1885 in Pittsburg, Pa. I don't think this document has ever been published in Free Society. There are doubtless many comrades, young in the movement, who do not know of this declaration of principles at all. Two of our comrades were present as delegates at the convention, and helped to frame the above mentioned document. These comrades were August Spies and A. R. Parsons. By all means let us have a discussion as to the best way of bringing Anarchism before the public. LUCY E. PARSONS.

[As we do not possess a copy of the Pittsburg document we would be pleased to receive the same. A. I.]

ANOTHER PROPOSITION.

Noting the call of "The Man in the Tower," in Free Society of December 10, we resolved, 1st: To endorse the recommendation of the organization of the international groups all federated; 2d: To recommend the sustaining of an English speaking lecturer and propagandist, to be the organizer of groups, securing subscriptions to the Anarchist papers and other literature. This lecturer to be paid sufficiently to live right. 3d: That all Anarchist papers in America be published under one management, thus cheapening production.

For the above purpose we volunteer to contribute $12 annually, and we ask all readers of Free Society to express themselves on this matter in the various Anarchist papers, whether issued in the English or any other language.

Providence, R. I. J. H. COOK.
Sec. Wendell Phillips' Club.

UNITY AND ACTIVITY THE BEST "ORGANIZATION."

Being anxious to have an English speaking propagandist in the field in this section of the country, we started a fund for the purpose of bringing across one of our best English comrades, and, to meet the expenses, we collected in a recent meeting about $14 and about $50 more were subscribed. This is an encouraging start, is it not?

Now, if the comrades in other cities will do likewise, we shall not have to wait long to carry out our plan.

Boston, Mass. A. K. S.

AN APPEAL FOR LITERATURE.

Comrades of America,—The radicals of Bucharest, Rumania, are endeavoring to establish a "Free Reading Room" of radical literature in all languages, and as we are not capitalists we shall be glad to receive periodicals, books and pamphlets. Periodicals of former years will be bound and kept on file.

The Italian comrades are cordially requested to send us the song *Su Fratelli, su Compagni*, and we would also be glad to receive the *Marseillaise* in the English and Spanish languages.

The pamhplet "Mating or Marrying, Which?" has been translated into the Rumanian language and other translations are soon to follow.

Bucharest, Rumania. J. HORVITZ.
Strada Mircea-Voda 28.

The Letter-Box.

J. K., Moran, Tex.—All right; your name is on the regular list now.

C. P., City.—When a Socialist agrees with Macaulay that "the great cause of revolutions is this, that while nations move onward, constitutions stand still," he ought to see that the only remedy is not to impose any constitutions upon the people at all. "Platforms" and "Constitions" are the stumbling-blocks of all social movements.

B. H., Pittsburg, Pa.—The new century begins with January 1, 1901.

K. A. S., Boston, Mass.—Thanks for your efforts to aid us in m king Free Society an eight page paper. But to publish the notice would be a "violation" of the postal laws.

A. W., St. Charles, Ill.—No; we have not heard anything of our Norwegian contemporay, "Anarkisten," for a long while.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN OLD SOLDIER OF FREEDOM.

Lucifer announces that ill health has obliged the editor, Moses Harman, to go South to restore his health and where he will devote his time to the writing of an autobiography. As he is an old soldier of social freedom who has always been true to his convictions, persecution and imprisonment were his reward from those he endeavored to liberate. There is no doubt that his book will be of great interest to students of the social movements.

Orders for the book can be made for $1 a copy by writing to Lucifer, 507 Carroll Ave., Chicago, Ill.

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